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ABSTRACT

The "moral curriculum group" of the Taiwan Provincial Institute for Elementary School Teachers' Inservice Education is developing a moral curriculum based on a new curriculum standard. But how do group members deal with the problem of Taiwan's national identity? To understand the interpersonal decision-making process regarding the "patriotism" of the moral curriculum group in the political and historical context of Taiwan, a study collected and analyzed data through qualitative research methods, including content analysis, participant observation, and interviewing. First, meanings were interpreted and ideologies were criticized regarding "patriotism" in both the curriculum standard and the textbooks. Second, audio-taped records of discussions in curriculum meetings regarding "patriotism" were analyzed. Third, to examine group members' thoughts and the accuracy and objectivity of the interpretation, some group members were interviewed. Finally, literature regarding the political change in Taiwan was analyzed to understand the political and historical context of curriculum development. It was found that the decision-making process of the "moral curriculum group" could be divided into two stages: (1) the "editing group" made the initial decisions in editing the textbooks; and (2) the final decisions were made in curriculum meetings based on the initial decisions. Decisions regarding "patriotism," influenced greatly by political circumstances in Taiwan, were not only made based on group members' personal ideology, but also through arguments, negotiations, and compromises among members with different political standpoints. After martial law was abolished in 1987 and former President Chiang Chin-Kuo died in 1988, Taiwanese society became more democratic, and "Chinese Identity" gradually lost its political base and legitimacy and was eventually replaced by "Taiwanese Identity." However, the curriculum group members still tended to avoid using the terms "Taiwan" and "Taiwanese" in textbooks. This leads to confusion in national identity regarding "patriotism" in the moral curriculum. Contains 11 references. (BT)

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National Identity and the Moral Curriculum Development regarding "Patriotism" in Taiwan

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Objective

In 1945, Japan returned Taiwan to China after 50 years of colonial ruling. However, the riot erupted in 1947 because Taiwanese people, mainly immigrant from southeast Mainland China, were dissatisfied with the corruption of their new ruler, KMT (Chinese National Party) government form Mainland China. In this conflict, thousands of Taiwanese were killed and the hospitality between Mainlanders and Taiwanese was deepened. In 1949, the KMT government withdrew to Taiwan after failing in the civil war with Chinese Communist Party (P.R.C.) in Mainland China, and promulgated Martial Law to maintain political stability and to resist the threat from P.R.C. Under the Law, the government forbade Taiwanese people's "Taiwanese Identity", opposing power, and the issue of "Taiwan's Independence from China." In such a political situation, the moral curriculum, especially its content regarding "Patriotism", became one of the tools to transmitting political ideologies of KMT government, such as "Chinese Identity" and "Anti- Communist." After the Martial Law was abolished in 1987, the society began to be democratized and the "Taiwanese Identity" began to be legitimatized gradually through political movement putting in motion by opposite party. However, in the Moral Curriculum Standard for Elementary Schools revised during 1990-1991, the "Patriotism" remained in one of eight virtues in the curriculum content, and so as the authoritarian ideologies.

The "moral curriculum group" of IEST (Taiwan Provincial Inst. For Elementary School Teachers' Inservice Ed.) is developing the "moral curriculum" based on the new .curriculum standard. Because curriculum development is made of a series of decisions (Walker, 1972) and it's a political, interpersonal process (Gay, 1985), I wonder how the group members deal with the problem regarding national identity in the curriculum decision-making process regarding "Patriotism"? How the change of the political situation influenced the curriculum contents?

Perspective

Behind curriculum development, there are decisions（Gwynn & Chase, 1970）. Curriculum decision-making is a political process. Selections of curriculum objectives, content, and activities are usually influenced by values and politics (Beauchamp, 1981; Gay, 1985; Goodlad, 1991; McNeil, 1984). It requires special expertise, political awareness, and a continuing dialogue among decision makers for resolution of value conflicts (Unruch & Unruch,1984）. However, the conflicts are not always resolved by following a systematic procedure but by resorting to power (Taba,1962; McNeil, 1984）.

What's behind in the curriculum decision-making regarding "Patriotism" in Taiwan? From the point of view of Structural Functionalism, the contents regarding "patriotism" in moral curriculum facilitate the function of social integration. However, reproduction theorists pointed to the role schools played in reproducing the inequities of power of the existing society (Giroux, 1981a). For example, Althusser(1972) argues that the state is a "machine" of repression which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination, and the primary determination in reproducing inequities of power rests with the ideological state apparatus, particularly the school (Althusser, 1972; Giroux, 1981b). Secondly, Gramsci argued that the *hegemony* refers to a process of domination whereby a ruling class exercises control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes. He also emphasized the role of ideology as an active force used by dominant classes to shape and incorporate the common sense views, needs, and interests of subordinate groups (Giroux, 1985). In short, the curriculum decision-making process regarding "Patriotism" in Taiwan was influenced greatly by the political power.

Methods

To understand the interpersonal decision-making process regarding "Patriotism" of the

moral curriculum group in the political and historical context of Taiwan, the data of this study was collected and analyzed through qualitative research methods, including content analysis, participant observation, and interviewing. The methodology was based on the Hermeneutics and Critical Theory.

Firstly, I interpreted the meanings and criticized the ideologies in the contents regarding "Patriotism" in both the curriculum standard and the textbooks. Secondly, I analysis the audiotaped records of the discussions regarding "Patriotism" in curriculum meetings I observed every Thursday from 1994 to1997. The "curriculum meeting" consisted of the "curriculum committee", and the "editing group" of IEST. The "curriculum committee" included five experts of moral curriculum (the chairman E1 was included), one jurist, one psychologist, one textbook expert, one elementary school principal, and one elementary school teacher. The "editing group" which was in charge of editing the textbooks included four research fellows of IEST and five elementary school teachers. And the ethnic composition of the curriculum group was consisted of seven Mainlanders, eleven Taiwanese, and one Native Taiwanese. Thirdly, in order to gain further thought of the members and to examine the accuracy and objectivity of my interpretation, I interviewed some group members after the observation and content analysis. Finally, I analysis literatures regarding the political change in Taiwan to understand the political and historical context of curriculum development.

Findings

From the analysis of the content analysis, the observation, the interviews, and the literature analysis, I found first that the decision-making process of the "moral curriculum group" could be divided into two stages. At the first stage, the "editing group" made the initial deigns in editing the textbooks. At the second stage, the final decisions were made in the "curriculum meetings" based on the initial decisions. In such an interpersonal process, the decisions regarding "Patriotism", influenced greatly by the political circumstances in Taiwan, were not only made based on group members' personal ideology, but also made through arguments, negotiations and compromises among members with different political standpoint.

Secondly, after the Martial Law was abolished in 1987 and the former President Chiang Chin-Kuo died in 1988, the society of Taiwan became more and more democratic through series of political movements putting in motion by Taiwanese people. In the process, the new leader of KMT, President Lee Den-Hui with Taiwanese ethnic background, began to ally with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status, and the Mainlanders in KMT gradually lost their dominant status in the core of power. Thus, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" gradually lost its political base and legitimacy, and was evidently replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in Taiwan. Therefore, the curriculum group members not only avoid emphasizing the ideology of "Chinese Identity", but also based on the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" in interpreting the curriculum content guideline regarding "Patriotism" in curriculum standard.

However, since the issue of whether Taiwan should be reunited with or be independent from China remains controversial, and P.R.C's military threat towards the movement of "Taiwan Independence," the KMT government still officially rejects the claim of "Taiwan Independence." Therefore, the ideology of "Taiwan Identity" still can't completely be legitimatized in the moral curriculum-decision process regarding "Patriotism." Thus, although there is no more emphasis on the construction of the identity of "China" or "Chinese," the curriculum group still tended to avoid using the terms of "Taiwan" and "Taiwanese" in the textbooks. This leads to the confusion in national identity in the contents regarding "patriotism" in moral curriculum.

Finally, the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" seems to be basically constructed by the curriculum group members' autonomous consciousness based on its legitimacy in current open society in Taiwan. However, since the "Taiwanese Identity" also became the ideology of new ruling power in KMT, what the children learned from the curriculum contents regarding "Patriotism" can still enforce the legitimacy of KMT's ruling status. Thus, it is another form of political reproduction, although the KMT government can no longer control the contents in moral textbooks for its own political interests.

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Implications

Based on the findings, the research has the following implications to moral education and citizenship education:

Firstly, in Taiwan, the curriculum content guidelines regarding "Patriotism" in the curriculum standard was constructed by the political and historical circumstances. They should be revised soon, because the authoritarian ideologies in it have lost their legitimacy in the open society. Furthermore, it is necessary to reflect on whether the government has the right to construct the national identity for children through the curriculum contents regarding "Patriotism" in moral curriculum. If so, it is necessary to construct reasonable curriculum contents through uncovering the concealed the dominant relationship of power and illuminating unreasonable ideology in the society.

Secondly, since the interpersonal decision-making process regarding "Patriotism" is also influenced greatly by personal ideology regarding national identity, the curriculum group members should always reflect on their own political standpoint through openly communication in order to interpret the curriculum content reasonably.

Thirdly, the confusion in national identity in Taiwan not only influences the curriculum contents regarding "Patriotism" in moral curriculum, but also confuses the children in their learning process of constructing national identity greatly. To reduce the confusion, the curriculum group members should develop the curriculum regarding "Patriotism" based on clarifying the relationship between the "Chinese Identity" and "Taiwanese Identity."

Finally, the curriculum group members should be aware of the political relationship between the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" and the new ruling power in Taiwan, concealed in the moral curriculum decision-making process regarding "Patriotism". By doing so, they can avoid becoming the political tool of dominance unconsciously in the new ruling relationship in Taiwan.

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National Identity and the Moral Curriculum Development Regarding "Patriotism" in Taiwan

Chien-Lung Wang

Introduction

The year 1945 marked the end of World War II and 50 years of Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan. The Chinese central government took over Taiwan in October 1945, but could allocate few resources to its new provincial administration on Taiwan and help the island in its postwar rehabilitation. Poor economic policies by the new provincial administration along with other complex factors created tensions and grievances, which boiled over into a massive riot on February 28, 1947 (Hsiao, 1991). In this conflict, thousands of Taiwanese were killed and the hospitality between Mainlanders and Taiwanese was deepened.

In late 1949, China Kai-shek's forces were defeated by the Communists on the mainland, and he and a large portion of his army and government fled to Taiwan, where they hoped to regroup and counter-attack. Taiwan absorbed more than a million and a half people at a time when the economy was faltering and social conditions were in disarray, which aggravated relations between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders (Copper, 1990). In order to maintain political stability and to resist the threat from the PRC, KMT government promulgated *Emergency Decree* in 1950. Under the law, the government forbade Taiwanese people's opposing power, the Taiwanese Identity, and the argument of "Taiwan Independence." In this situation, the moral curriculum, especially its content regarding "Patriotism", became one of the tools to transmitting ideologies of the KMT government, such as "Chinese Identity", "authoritarianism" and "anti- communist."

After the *Emergency Decree* was abolished in 1987 and the former President Chiang Ching-Kuo died in 1988, the society of Taiwan began to be democratized through series of political movements putting in motion by opposing party, DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), composed almost by native Taiwanese. Meanwhile, the new leader of KMT, President Lee Teng-hui with Taiwanese ethnic background, began to ally with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status, and the Mainlanders lost their status in the core of power in KMT in 1992. Thus, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" lost its political base and legitimacy and

replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in the democratizing process gradually. In the new political power structure in Taiwan, the curriculum contents regarding national identity have to be re-interpreted correspondent to the new ideologies of national identity, "Taiwanese Identity," in the democratized society. On the one hand, Taiwanese culture actually originated from Chinese culture. On the other hand, the PRC insisted "One China Policy" and inhibited the movement of "Taiwan Independence" with the declaration of not giving up resolving the "Taiwanese problem" with military force. Therefore, the "Taiwanese Identity" remains controversial in the ROC.

The "moral curriculum group" of IEST (Taiwan Provincial Inst. for Elementary School Teachers' In-service Ed.) has developed the "moral curriculum" based on the new curriculum standard since 1990. There were controversies among group members whenever the group edited the teaching unit regarding "Patriotism" because of the issues about the national identity of the people in Taiwan - whether as Chinese people who shared the same identity with the people on Mainland China or as non-communist Chinese nationalists or as people of Taiwan. There were some tensions between these different identities as people come to terms in different ways with the political realities of the region (Tsai, 1998).

In Taiwan's relationship to China, it is part of a divided nation. But that status is fading much faster than it is in the case of the two Germanies or the two Koreas. Some say Taiwan cannot be called a nation, but they cannot what it should be called. Some say its status could be resolved by dropping the name of Republic of China and using the name Taiwan or some variation; thus it would be a nation. But its legal or political identity problem would persist. Most say Taiwan is a nation—because it qualifies or because there is no suitable alternative (Copper, 1990). Because curriculum development is made of a series of decisions (Walker, 1972) and it's a political, interpersonal process (Gay, 1985), I am interested in how the group members deal with the problem regarding national identity in the democratic society of Taiwan in the curriculum decision-making process regarding "Patriotism."

Perspectives

1.The political process of curriculum decision-making

Behind all curriculum development, change, production ,implementation, or design, there are decisions (Gwynn & Chase,1970) . Decisions about the curriculum are often grouped into five major types: (a)"Curriculum goals", (b)"Curriculum content", (c)"Learning experiences" or "Student activities", (d)"Resources", (e)"Evaluation" (Oberg, 1991). Curriculum decision-

making is a political process. Selections of curriculum objectives, content, and activities are not often based on studies of content in the discipline, societal needs, learners' learning process, concerns of learners, but usually influenced by values and politics (Beauchamp, 1981; Gay, 1985; Goodlad, 1991; McNeil, 1984). Conflict over what to teach is not just a conflict of ideas but of persons, groups, and factions (McNeil, 1984). Thus, curriculum development is a complex activity that takes place within a complex political milieu. It requires special expertise, political awareness, and a continuing dialogue among decision-makers for clarification of purpose and resolution of value conflicts (Unruch & Unruch, 1984). However, the conflicts are not always resolved by following a systematic procedure but by resorting to power (Taba, 1962; McNeil, 1984). Those who must resolve the conflicting pressures tend to use the strategy of disjointed incrementalism. Under disjointed incrementalism, conflicts over goals and objectives are not resolved on the basis of principles, logic, and evidence but by political power (McNeil,1984).

2.The "Re-production Theory" and curriculum development

What is behind the curriculum decision-making regarding "Patriotism" in Taiwan? From the point of view of Structural Functionalism, the contents regarding "Patriotism" in moral curriculum facilitate the function of social integration. However, reproduction theorists pointed to the role schools played in reproducing the inequities of power of the existing society (Giroux, 1981a). For example, Althusser (1972) argues that the state is a "machine" of repression which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination, and the primary determination in reproducing inequities of power rests with the ideological state apparatus, particularly the school (Althusser, 1972; Giroux, 1981b). Secondly, Gramsci argued that the *hegemony* refers to a process of domination whereby a ruling class exercises control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes. He also emphasized the role of ideology as an active force used by dominant classes to shape and incorporate the common sense views, needs, and interests of subordinate groups (Giroux, 1985). Thirdly, Mennheim(1991) mentioned about the "total conception of ideology", according to which the thought of all parties in all epochs is of an ideological character. In short, the curriculum decision-making process regarding "patriotism" in Taiwan was influenced greatly by the ruling power in the political environment.

3.The participants in curriculum decision-making

Curriculum development is an interpersonal process (Gay, 1985). The curriculum

development requires continuous cooperation among educational psychologists, sociologists, subject matter experts, educational evaluators, teachers, school administrations, and so on (Haller and Lewy, 1991). Chew (1977) specifies the differential roles of experts in the process of examining the adequacy of objectives, contents, and learning strategies suggested by the editing teams. (a) Curriculum specialists judge the internal consistency of the curriculum plan. (b) Subject matter specialists check the up-to-dateness of curricular field of the specific subject. (c) Educational psychologists examine the learning strategies that will gain the interest of the learner, and also their adequacy to the cognitive and emotional developmental level of the learner. (d) Teachers serve as judges of the quality of the suggested materials.

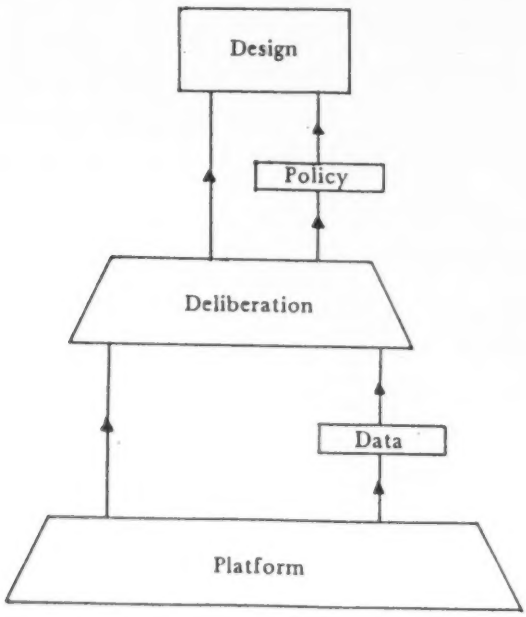
The teacher's participation in curriculum work has been a positive development in many respects, leading to enhanced professionalism, more effective implementation of programmes, curricula that are more appropriate to local needs, and more control by teachers of their work situations. Nevertheless, there will be limitations on the participation, such as limited training, limited time, mandated curriculum, rationalization and bureaucratization of schooling (Elbaz, 1991).

4.The naturalistic model of curriculum development

The descriptive framework of this study is based on Walker's (1971) "naturalistic model" of the process of curriculum development. This model is primarily descriptive （Walker, 1971）. Curriculum problems belong to practical （Walker, 1990）. The rational curriculum models are limited in their ability to illuminate the process of group curriculum planning because they neglect the political nature of curriculum policy planning (Johnston ,1989）. The role of values and bias is not highlight in the model. (McNeil ,1984）. Schwab who denies that curriculum problems are of such a nature that they can be solved procedurally, and argues that solution of them must be found by an interactive consideration of means and ends. The process through which this is achieved is called "deliberation" or "practical reasoning"(Reid ,1978）.

The "Naturalistic model" consists of three elements: (1)curriculum's platform: the system of beliefs and values that the curriculum developer brings to his task and that guides the development of the curriculum developer; (2) design: the output of the curriculum development, (3) deliberation: the process by which beliefs and information are used to make design decisions. The main operations in curriculum deliberation are formulating decision points, considering arguments for and against suggested decision points and decision alternatives, and choosing the most defensible alternatives. The heart of the deliberative process is the justification of choice, so curriculum deliberations are chaotic and confused.

Figure 1 A schematic diagram of the main components of the naturalistic model (Walker, 1971)



Methods

To understand the interpersonal decision-making process regarding "patriotism" of the moral curriculum group in the political and historical context of Taiwan, the data of this study was collected and analyzed through qualitative research methods, including content analysis, participant observation, and interviews. The methodology is based on the Hermeneutics and Critical Theory.

Firstly, I interpreted the meanings and criticized the ideologies in the contents regarding "Patriotism" in both the curriculum standard and the textbooks. Secondly, I analyzed the audiotaped discussions regarding "Patriotism" in curriculum meetings I observed every Thursday from 1994 to1997. The "curriculum meeting" consisted of the "curriculum committee", and the "editing group" of IEST. The "curriculum committee" included five experts of moral curriculum (the chairman E1 was included), one jurist, one psychologist, one textbook expert, one elementary school principal, and one elementary school teacher and administrator. The "editing group" which was in charge of editing the textbooks included six research fellows of IEST (myself R6 was included) and five elementary school teachers. In the curriculum group, eight mainlanders, twelve Taiwanese (including four Hakkaness), and one native Taiwanese was

included. Thirdly, in order to gain further thought of the members and to examine the accuracy and objectivity of my interpretation, I interviewed 12 group members after the participant observation. Finally, I collected data regarding the political change of the society in Taiwan to understand the political and historical context of curriculum development.

Findings

1.The "Chinese Identity" and the content outlines regarding "Patriotism" revised in the end of authoritarian era (in 1990)

The KMT forces were defeated in China's civil war of 1947-1949. Retreating to Taiwan in 1949, they formed a de facto state known as the Republic of China, representing the authority they salvaged from the mainland. For almost four decades they have claimed sovereign jurisdiction over the mainland, which has been under the legitimate control of the Chinese Communist Party (Tien, 1989). For the KMT at that time,, the ruling KMT's main concern was "to recover the mainland." Taiwan was to be the "base." It was important to develop Taiwan, but that was not the party's ultimate goal (Lu, 1991). In this situation, the moral curriculum, especially its content regarding "Patriotism", became the tool to transmit the ideologies of KMT, such as "Chinese identity", "authoritarianism" and "anti- communist." Therefore, it was criticized that it was full of Confucianism, authoritarianism, nationalism, and collectivism in the 1978 edition and even 1989 edition of moral textbooks. For example, in the 1978 edition, the content "Lo Fu-hsin (the hero in the period of colonial ruling by Japan)" and "the cultural relics in National Palace Museum" showed that the authoritarian KMT government intended to develop children's national identity through the ideologies of "anti- Japan" and "Chinese Identity." Still they are used in the elementary schools now in the democratized Taiwan.

Although the *Emergency Decree* was abolished in 1987, actually, the democratizing process of authoritarian KMT government advanced gradually. In this period, the Mainlanders had the ruling power in the KMT. Therefore, KMT government heavily insisted "Chinese Identity" and inhibited the "Taiwanese Identity." In such a political context, there are still authoritarian ideologies in the content outlines regarding "Patriotism" in the new Moral Curriculum Standard revised in 1989, although it had been 3 years after the abolishment of *Emergency Decree*. Firstly, there are a lot of content outlines including the ideology of "Chinese Identity" and the intention of cultural reproduction of dominant Mainlanders. For

instance, "respecting the national heroes," "understanding our country's cultural relics," "loving our country's excellent culture and tradition fervently," "promoting our country's culture," and "developing the conscious to the country", etc. The terms "nation" and "country" in these outlines means to "China" basically. Secondly, the ideology of "authoritarianism" of KMT government included in the content outlines, such as "respecting the head of the state" and "respecting the wise and able leadership of the government."

The curriculum development regarding "Patriotism" is based on those outlines before the *Moral Curriculum Standard* is revised again, even though those authoritarian ideologies in the content outlines are no longer fit to today's democratic society in Taiwan. This problem led to many arguments in the moral curriculum development process regarding "Patriotism" from 1991 to the present. Before 1995, according to my observation and analysis, the arguments in the curriculum development process were mainly in how to eliminate the authoritarian ideology such as "Chinese Identity" when interpreting the content outlines, and the "Taiwanese Identity" was not evident in the period. After 1995, the "Taiwanese Identity" began to outstrip "Chinese Identity" in the development process. However, because the "Taiwanese Identity" cannot get complete legitimacy in the political environment in Taiwan, there were arguments about the ambiguity on national identity in the curriculum development process. I will show the process in the following parts of my paper.

2. The reduction of "Chinese Identity" and the curriculum development regarding "Patriotism" (from 1991 to 1995)

The foundation of the ideology of "Chinese Identity" in the content outlines regarding "Patriotism" was the authoritarian KMT government whose power was controlled mainly by Mainlanders before 1992. In the authoritarian era, the public agreed with the KMT's anti-communism, though without supporting it as an ideology as strongly as the government does. But the masses in Taiwan had never enthusiastically accepted the government's policy of returning to the mainland. Few had been there; less than 6 percent of the population had seen China (Copper, 1990, 72). Opposition politicians frequently chide the policy of returning to the mainland as being completely unrealistic and an impediment to democracy. They call for self-determination and argue that the people should determine Taiwan's Future (Copper, 1990, 72).

Political reform in the ROC can be divided into two stages. The first stage began during President Chiang Ching-kuo's later years, and the second, during President Lee Teng-hui's tenure in office. The late President Chiang Ching-kuo focused the political reforms on lifting the

restrictions imposed on people's basic rights and freedoms by the *Emergency Decree* and the *Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion*. Therefore, the people's freedoms of assembly, association, information exchange, and speech were better protected (Hsu, 1994).

President Lee's political reforms can be subdivided into an earlier and later stage. During the earlier stage, in addition to further safeguarding the people's basic rights provided for in the ROC Constitution, President attached much importance to political reforms, including amending the Constitution, readjusting the powers of the central government, and setting up standards for multiparty politics. The emphasis of the later stage of political reform shifted to rectifying political practices and culture (Hsu, 1994).

One important character of the political reform under the President Lee was the "Taiwanization" of the KMT. Over 75 percent of the 2.5 million members of the KMT are native Taiwanese. As for the Central Committee elected at the Thirteenth KMT Party Congress, Taiwanese representation in the body came to 34.4 percent of the total, a higher figure than for the previous Central Committee (19.3 percent). A more significant fact is that in the current Standing Committee, Taiwanese formed the majority. The other aspect of Taiwanization concerns the shift of the general orientation of the party. The KMT still pays lip service to the "unification of China," but its main preoccupation is to develop Taiwan and advance ROC into the ranks of developed nations (Lu, 1991). Furthermore, in the democratization process, President Lee Teng-hui allied with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status and drove the Mainlanders out of the core of power. After the former Prime Minister Hou Po-ts'un left office in 1992, the Mainlanders were forced to withdraw from the core of power in KMT completely (Chien & Wang, 1995).

In the process, the ideologies of "Chinese Identity" and "authoritarianism" lost their political base and legitimacy gradually. Thus, the ideologies also gradually lost the power to control the moral curriculum content. The curriculum developers tried to get rid of the ideologies of "Chinese Identity" when interpreting the content outlines regarding "Patriotism" from 1991 to 1994, but the "Taiwanese Identity," which was inhibited by the authoritarian KMT government, didn't appear during the period.

For example, in the developing process of the content for the third grade regarding "respecting the national heroes", the curriculum group tried not to choose the political persons which represented the authoritarian ideologies as the subject.

R2: ..... Many persons so called national heroes are because of their great achievements in the war. ..... In the discussion of the committee, we decided not to choose these kinds of

bloody examples. These people may really be beneficial to the Chinese nation, but they may not be good from the points of view of other nations. We should choose the examples from the aspect of culture (rather than politics). (Discussion: Oct. 2, 1994)

Although the curriculum group tried to avoid the political ideology, however, "Chinese identity" remained the main ideology in the developing process:

R2: ..... You feel proud if some people mention that somebody in China did something great. So you Chinese is Great. This can be the goal of the "patriotism" for us. ..... For example, there were 3 main inventions in China: paper, compass, and gunpowder. But this content will be repeated in social studies. So we choose the "Lee Shih-Jen (A Chinese pharmacologist in Ming dynasty)" as the subject matter. ..... Students can learn that some people who had good achievements belonged to the so-called group--- "China" (Discussion: Oct. 2, 1994)

Besides, in the developing process of the content regarding "Patriotism" in the forth grade, the editing group intended to interpret one of the content outlines- "understanding our country's cultural relics" but gave up the influence of "chauvinism of great China." In the teacher's edition, it mentioned that the teaching unit "hopes to make students understand the relationship between culture and personal life through realizing cultural relic's origin, development, and the application in lives."(IEST, 1995) Therefore, they chose the familiar "Chinese knot" to be the concrete example. The research fellow R2 (with the ethnic background of Mainlanders) intended to interpret the relationship between individuals and the country in a new way, and opposing the traditional interpretation of "Patriotism" that advocated the "chauvinism of great China." She didn't agree with the idea that "we love our country because she is great, and we are outstanding because we really have marvelous culture." (R2: Meeting: Mar. 16,1995). But E5 (also Mainlanders) had different perspective:

R2: ..... We don't want such a concept! In fact, children have known what "patriotism" is. ..... We hope that they can find many things in their real lives. Culture is the accumulation of living experience, so it can be anything. .....

E5: ..... I have a different idea about the "chauvinism of great China". I think that one of the ways to arouse the attitude of patriotism is to give our students superiority complex in their childhood. Another way is to arouse their inferiority complex, let them feel that we

are always persecuted. ..... So, I think students have to believe our cultural is excellent, and our country is great.

R2: ..... We should make children feel our country's excellence and the Chinese wisdom through realizing some simple things that can be used in many ways, such as the "Chinese knot."

E5: It will show our Chinese own such kind of wisdom .....

R2: It is not necessary to emphasize that Chinese wisdom outstrips others. You mean only we can invent Chinese knot, so we have to preserve it? I don't agree with it. This is not the logic we want! (Meeting: Mar.16, 1995)

Because of the insistence of research fellow R2 and there was no other opinions, E3 (also Mainlanders) transformed the consequence of the negotiation to be the "co-interpretation" of the meaning of the "Patriotism": "..... so the meaning of 'Patriotism' emphasized here is that it is not conditional. Patriotism is an attitude like unconditional positive concern in the counseling." (E3: Meeting: Mar.16, 1995)

In this discussion, I found that R2 and E3 tried not to interpret the "Patriotism" with strong "Chinese Identity" (chauvinism of great China) which emphasized the identity to China far away from Taiwan where we actually live, although both of them had the backgrounds of Mainlanders. Still the "Chinese nod" represented the "Chinese" culture. The argument of "Taiwanese Identity" didn't appear in the discussing process completely, and the term "Taiwan" also didn't appear in the text so far.

These examples above showed that, since the democratization of the authoritarian KMT government, the "Chinese Identity" gradually disappeared in the moral curriculum content, the curriculum developers tried to get rid of it when interpreting the content outlines regarding "Patriotism." Although they tried to avoid the authoritarianism and the "chauvinism of great China" in it, the subject matters "Lee Shih-jen" and "Chinese nod" still represent the "Chinese Identity." It showed that the "Taiwanese Identity" hadn't legitimized in the moral curriculum regarding "Patriotism" during this period.

3.The rising of "Taiwanese Identity" and the curriculum development regarding "Patriotism" (from 1995 to 1997)

The influence of "Chinese Identity" in the curriculum development regarding "Patriotism" became much weaker after 1995. It didn't mean that there was no the influence of ideology any

more. In fact, the "Taiwanese Identity" had risen evidently since of the "Taiwanization" of the political environment in Taiwan.

When the members with the Taiwanese background replaced the status of the Mainlanders in the core of power in KMT, the democratizing process of Taiwan continued to march towards the direction of "Taiwanization." The democratized KMT government not only began to claim the independent sovereignty of Taiwan to the international society, but also constructed the conscious of "life community" and strengthened the "Taiwanese Identity" of the people through series of cultural measurements. The KMT government even began to appeal the people with the term of "Taiwanese" just as the opposing party, DPP did. (Chien & Wang, 1995) Under the new political environment, the ideology "Chinese Identity" is rapidly replaced by the "Taiwanese Identity" (the Editorial Board, 1995), especially after the presidential election in 1996.

Under such a political situation, it got more and more evident that the "Chinese Identity" was replaced in the curriculum development process regarding "Patriotism" after 1995. For example, when I wrote the text for fifth grade: "Back to the past", I chose the "farming experience of the ancestors in Taiwan" as the subject to represent the meanings of the outlines: "appreciating the hard work of ancestors" and "loving our country's excellent culture and tradition fervently." I didn't choose the example representing the "Chinese Identity" such as "the cultural relics in National Palace Museum" to be the subject. My Taiwanese (Hakkaness) background was one of the reasons for me to make the decision; but I think the change of political power structure in Taiwan was actually the key point. Besides, in the text for the sixth grade, the local examples of "Cloud Gate Dance Theatre," "Hsin-chu Science-based Industrial Park", and the "Chia-Yi Charity Group" was chosen to be the subjects to represent the content outlines: "promoting our country's culture" and "developing the national conscious." I found that the "Taiwanese Identity" evidently replaced the "Chinese Identity" in these subjects, because they are real life examples happened in Taiwan.

From the point of view of postmodernism, the "nation" lost its superiority in controlling knowledge gradually. Its power to control knowledge faced challenge and was replaced and it becomes only one of the foundations of the legitimacy of knowledge. The "Taiwanese Identity" in the moral curriculum development regarding "patriotism" seems to be consequence of curriculum developers' reinterpretation to the content outlines, and it seems to be no longer controlled by the government. However, the "Taiwanese Identity" children learned from the content regarding "Patriotism" in moral curriculum will still become the base of the legitimacy of new political power of the ruling KMT and even of the opposing DPP, because they both emphasize the "Taiwanese Identity" today. It seems to be that it "reproduce" the powerful relationship in an indirect way in the new political environment.

4.The ambiguity of "Taiwanese Identity" and the curriculum development regarding "Patriotism" (from 1995 to 1997)

The issue of whether Taiwan should be reunited with or independent from Mainland China remains controversial. Besides, the issue of "independence of Taiwan" still faces the intimidation from China (P.R.C.) who insists on the "One China Policy." And the KMT government still officially announces the policy of reunification with China rather than of the independence of Taiwan. Furthermore, there was ambiguity between "Chinese Identity" and "Taiwanese Identity", because the Taiwanese culture actually originated mainly from China. Therefore, the "Taiwanese Identity" cannot be legitimized completely in the moral curriculum content regarding "Patriotism", although the "Taiwanese Identity" had replaced the "Chinese Identity" as the main ideology of national identity in Taiwan.

The ambiguity of "Taiwanese Identity" led to three kinds of difficulties in the curriculum development regarding "Patriotism." Firstly, the curriculum developers avoided displaying the conscious of "Taiwanese Identity" directly in order not to arouse the controversies about the issue of "independence of Taiwan." For example, it was necessary to give consideration to the children with the background of Taiwanese and with Mainlander at the same time when designing the questions in the textbooks:

R6: Because each student has different background, I hope that the students with the background of Mainlander can (also reply the question by saying that) their ancestors were from some place in Mainland China. ... ... There will be a controversy when editing the curriculum content regarding "Patriotism." Someone may accuse that we advocate the issue of "independence of Taiwan," if we always confine the scope in Taiwan (in the content of textbooks). Therefore, when asking about where were your ancestors from, the children with the background of Mainlanders, who came to Taiwan in 1949, can also say that they are from Hu-Nan, Jian-Su, or Yung- Nan (provinces in Mainland China), etc. The scope (of the "nation") will be enlarged through this way. Their ancestors actually came from there.

... ...

E1: I think this question can be canceled. If the question must be asked in the textbook, we should ask where they came from. (Meeting, Jan.15, 1996)

This example shows that I (R6) intended to widen the concept of the "nation" to whole China and avoid the controversy about the issue of "independence of Taiwan". Moreover, I tried to concentrate the focus on Taiwan when developing the next question because of the contextual conscious of "Taiwanese Identity":

R6: "Where do your ancestors live when they came to Taiwan?" I intended to focus on the experience (the history of ancestors) in the place where we live. (Meeting, Jan.15, 1996)

Secondly, it is difficult to distinguish the Taiwanese culture and the Chinese culture absolutely, since the former actually originates from the later. For example, in the text for the fifth grade, it mentioned that speaking Taiwanese, the main mother tongue of Taiwanese people which was inhibited by KMT government in authoritarian era, as the representation of "Taiwanese Identity." However, the Taiwanese language actually originated from Southern Fu-Jien in the southeast China. Furthermore, the chairperson of the curriculum committee E1 (with the background of Taiwanese) worried about the controversy of "Taiwanese Identity" ideology behind the subject and suggested not emphasizing "mother tongue" too much, when developing the questions:

E1: I think the "mother tongue" was emphasized too much in the third question. It related to the problem of ideology. The third question in the discussing activity mentions about the "mother tongue", and the filling activity also mentions about "mother tongue." Is it necessary to be emphasized so much?

R6: The second question (in the filling activity) mentions about the "appreciating the hard work of ancestors", which goal is clear. But I don't know how to deal with the "culture and tradition" (,if we don't display the third question, because the "mother tongue" here is the representation of traditional culture). (Meeting, Jan.15, 1996)

Chairman E1's consideration above showed that the "Taiwanese Identity" didn't totally legitimized under the conflict on national identity. In the same unit, the content mentioned about "the ancestors came to Taiwan in taking the risk of crossing the Taiwan Strait" to show the fact that the Taiwanese people mainly originate from China. Besides, the text also had to mention about the "Chinese people emphasize the filial piety" to represent the "Chinese traditional moral." In the text for sixth grade, it introduced the "recreation of the traditional art and culture" of "Cloud Gate Dance Theatre" and the "paving the road and building the bridges are parts of Chinese 5000-year culture" in "Chia-Yi charity group." Both show the relationships

between the subjects and Chinese culture.

Thirdly, the term "Taiwan" still cannot be legitimized absolutely in the textbooks. It didn't appear in the texts regarding "Patriotism" from the first grade to the forth grade, which was edited from 1990 to 1994. In the fifth grade's text edited in 1995, the curriculum developers still tried not to use "Taiwan" to indicate the nation directly and once used the term "treasure island (Formosa)" to be the alternative.

R6: ..... Why do I mention the term "treasure island (Formosa)" in the second part of the text? I guess it won't lead to any controversy to describe Taiwan as a "treasure island." The place where we live is a "treasure island" whose environment is destroyed by the people on the island. So what we love is the island we live, not the government of R.O.C. or the KMT government. We can use the concept "treasure island" to describe our nation. ..... (Meeting, Dec.18, 1995)

The example above shows that, although what mentioned in the text is "Taiwan" not "China", the curriculum developers used the term "treasure island" indirectly rather than "Taiwan" to indicate the nation for the ambiguity of "Taiwanese Identity." Moreover, the term "Taiwanese" never appears in the textbooks 1-6 to describe the people who live in Taiwan.

In the sixth grade's text, the terms "Taiwan" and "China" have appeared 7 and 9 times, while they seldom appear in the texts for the forth and the fifth grade because of the controversy in national identity. The difference is that the references of the text were published in authoritarian period and democratized period respectively. The curriculum developers didn't intent to use them to represent the object of national identity. In the developing process for the sixth grade, a discussion about how to deal with the terms "Taiwan" and "China" in the text was raised:

R6: There are the terms "Taiwan" and "China" in the text simultaneously. Should we make them identical? How should we deal with this problem? .....

E3: It is not necessary to make them identical. It reflects the realistic political situation in Taiwan. This is a political problem, which should be resolved in politics. What we do is for education. It is impossible to resolve the political problem through education itself. ..... (Meeting: Dec.16, 1996)

In the discussion, I found that the curriculum developers began to face the realistic, political situation in Taiwan and didn't intent to resolve the problem of national identity in the

textbooks. Therefore, in the content for the fifth and the sixth grade, they used the term "land" as the subject to identify, instate of "nation." For instance, In the end of the text for the fifth grade, the concept that "living on the land, we have to appreciate the ancestors' hard work", shows the expediency of identifying the land rather than the term of the "nation." And the title of the text for the sixth grade: "We have to work hard for our own land" also shows the expediency to mention the "land" as the subject to be identified, no matter what the term of the "nation" is.

Conclusions

From the analysis of the content analysis, the observation, the interviews, I found first that the decision-making process of the "moral curriculum group" could be divided into two stages. At the first stage, the "editing group" made the initial deigns in editing the textbooks. At the second stage, the final decisions were made in the "curriculum meetings" based on the initial decisions. In such an interpersonal process, the decisions regarding "Patriotism", influenced greatly by the political circumstances in Taiwan, were not only made based on group members' personal ideology, but also made through arguments, negotiations and compromises among members with different political standpoints.

Secondly, because of the change of political power structure in Taiwan, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" was evidently replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in the curriculum decision-making process regarding "Patriotism" after 1995. After the *Emergency Decree* was abolished in 1987 and the former President Chiang Chin-Kuo died in 1988, the society of Taiwan became more and more democratic through series of political movements putting in motion by Taiwanese people. In the process, the new leader of KMT, President Lee Den-Hui with Taiwanese ethnic background, began to ally with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status, and the Mainlanders gradually lost their status in the core of power in KMT. Thus, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" in curriculum content guideline lost its political base and legitimacy. Therefore, the curriculum group members not only tried to avoid the ideology of "Chinese Identity", but also based on the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" when interpreting the curriculum content outline regarding "patriotism".

However, since the issue of whether Taiwan should be reunited with or be independent from China remains controversial, and P.R.C's military threat towards the issue of the "independence of Taiwan," the KMT government still officially rejects the claim of "independence of Taiwan." Therefore, the ideology of "Taiwan Identity" still can't completely

be legitimatized in the moral curriculum decision-making process regarding "Patriotism." The curriculum group still tends to avoid using the terms "Taiwan" and "Taiwanese," although there is no more emphasis on the construction of the identity to "China" or "Chinese" in the textbooks. Thus, the curriculum content regarding "patriotism" in moral curriculum is still lack of clear national identity.

Finally, the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" seems to be basically constructed by the curriculum group members' autonomous consciousness based on its legitimacy in current open society in Taiwan. However, since the "Taiwanese Identity" also became the base of new political power in the ruling KMT and even the opposing DPP, what the children learned from the curriculum contents regarding "Patriotism" can still enforce the legitimacy of its ruling status. Thus, it seems to be another form of political reproduction, although the government can no longer control the contents regarding "Patriotism" in moral textbooks for its own political intention.

Implications

Based on the findings, the research has the following implications to moral education and civil education: Firstly, the curriculum contents outlines regarding "Patriotism" was constructed by the political and historical circumstances in Taiwan. It should be revised soon, because the change of political structure of society made the political ideologies lost its legitimacy. Furthermore, it is necessary to reflect further on whether the government has the power to construct the national identity through the contents regarding "Patriotism" in moral curriculum. If so, it is necessary not only to discover the concealed power, to illuminate unreasonable ideology, but also to construct ideal curriculum contents of such a topic without unreasonable ideology.

Secondly, since the decision-making regarding "Patriotism" was also influenced greatly by personal ideology regarding national identity, the curriculum group members have to reflect on their own political standpoint to avoid unreasonable ideology concealed in the decision-making process.

Thirdly, in spite of the confusion of national identity in Taiwan, the curriculum members should take the responsibility to clarify the problem to reduce children's confusion. The selection of subject matter with the "Taiwanese Identity" regarding "patriotism" can enhance children's identity with where they live. However, the curriculum group had to face the fact that the tradition culture in Taiwan comes mainly from China. It is important to solve the problem reasonably to reduce the confusion of children's national identity.

Finally, the group members should keep reflecting on the relationship between the "Taiwanese Identity" and the new political power in Taiwan. They have to check the ideology of new ruling power behind curriculum decision-making and not to become the dominant tool unconsciously.

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